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THE IMPACT OF PUBLIC SECTOR ENTREPRENEURSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION ON SKILLED MIGRATION

*A Comparative Analysis of Canadian and
Australian International Education*

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ABSTRACT

This chapter presents a comparative perspective on international education in Canada and Australia in the light of recent federal proposals for improving international education programs. The study provides an account of the multiple benefits of international education and introduces the concept of public sector entrepreneurship (PSE) as a necessity for

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creating and administering comprehensive programs, aimed at increasing Canada's share of the international education market. The chapter compares Canadian and Australian international education policies with a special emphasis on the entrepreneurial approach applied in Australia. Moreover, the chapter discusses potential contributions to Canadian human capital through attractive immigration policies for international graduates. The findings reveal that Canada needs centralized management of international education programs. Following the Australian model, the establishment of a specialized agency to administer programs at federal level and to coordinate activities at provincial level is essential for success. PSE is represented by applying a market approach and revising residency and immigration strategies. Further research is required for a more detailed analysis of the costs and benefits of necessary capital investments and implications of changing the policy framework governing skilled migration.

Keywords: International education; public sector entrepreneurship; comparative analysis; skilled migration; postsecondary education; education policy

INTRODUCTION

The inquiry method in this chapter is blended with a multidisciplinary approach from comparative education and political science to investigate public sector entrepreneurship (PSE) in international education. The Hypothetico-Deductive theory in comparative education is a scientific approach which allows for the investigation of the research problem using reflective thinking. Similarly, the cross-national approach in social policy analysis provides an opportunity to analyze an event or process which takes place in a country, comparing the effects of similar events and processes in other jurisdictions. The theoretical framework of this investigation is influenced by both approaches. A key aspect of the chapter is to consider the effect of PSE in international education and its implications on the skilled immigration programs in two major immigrant recipient countries, Australia and Canada. The retention of international students as skilled immigrants will create a range of benefits for the economy. The analysis refers to such benefits and programs required to address potential issues generated by current entrepreneurial policies taken by the public sector of both countries.

International education is a broad concept which can be viewed in many different dimensions at all stages of the education system. However, the most prominent definition is related to the concept of internationalization of higher education. Knight (1994) defines it as the process of integrating an international dimension into the teaching–learning, research, and service functions of universities and colleges. International education includes all initiatives that promote an understanding of the international community, intercultural competency, and a sense of responsibility to others around the world in the field of education. The primary driver behind international education is to ensure that students in postsecondary institutions develop the knowledge, skills, and characteristics required for their fruitful participation in learning and research in a global perspective while enhancing the path of student mobility worldwide. Kerr (1994) describes four major components of international education: the flow of new knowledge, the flow of scholars, the flow of students, and the content of the curriculum. Other scholars such as Van der Wende, Rudzki, and Halliday also tried to identify elements of internationalization of higher education, through an examination of students, professors and instructors, employment income, and location (de Wit, 2002). The economic benefits derived from a host country from the development of international education programs are due to the flow of students institutions receive. This chapter will examine the effects of student and labor mobility through international education programs and the direct effects to skilled migration in Canada. The comparison will be performed with Australia, which has refined this process.

The main vehicle of international labor mobility is skilled immigration. Labor mobility refers to the freedom of workers to practice their occupation wherever opportunities exist (Human Resources and Skills Development Canada, 2009). Skilled immigration is the process which provides a foreign-born professional the opportunity to work freely in a country where their skills are in demand. Conversely, student mobility can be defined as any academic mobility which takes place within a student's program of study in postsecondary education (Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2011). Specifically, international student mobility can be narrowed down to the transfer of students from a source country to a host country. Host countries are the international education service providers while source countries are the service receivers.

In 2009, almost 3.7 million postsecondary students were enrolled outside their country of origin (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2009). The top two source countries in the world are China and India. China's recent

economic growth has increased the ability of parents to send their children abroad. In India, students are keen to study overseas and develop skills for future careers in host countries. The decrease in the number of Indian students attending postsecondary institutions in the United States (US) over the last few years indicates the poor health of the national job market, resulting in a negative impact on international student enrollment, especially for students from India (Choudaha & Chang, 2012). This suggests a direct relation between student and labor mobility.

A recent Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report demonstrated that over 77% of all students studying abroad choose to do so in OECD countries (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2010b). The UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS) in 2009 identified four leading host countries in the world; US, United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada. OECD education statistics from 2010 validate this finding, adding to the list France and Germany as significant host countries. Students appear to make their choice on where to study by considering their options following graduation. According to a 2009 survey by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, over 51% of international students in Canada planned to apply for permanent residency, and more than 70% stated that they would seek employment after graduation (Canadian Chamber of Commerce, 2010). The following table exhibits data for the top six host countries in the world.

The size of the Canadian higher education sector is comparable to that of Australia's, but as the above data indicates, Canada receives far fewer international students. The Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials (CICIC) reports that there are more than 200 public and private institutions in Canada that grant degrees. Degree-granting institutions vary between provinces and may include universities, university colleges, colleges, institutes of technology, and specialized institutes. Universities have federation or affiliation agreements with specific colleges or with other universities nationally and internationally. Australian higher education covers 39 universities, and over 100 other postsecondary institutions including colleges, postsecondary vocational training institutes, and private career colleges. A key differential between these two countries is that while Canadian postsecondary institutions offer lower tuition fees, the credentials (degrees, diplomas, etc.) are less recognized worldwide (CICIC, 2011), perhaps explaining the discrepancy between these two countries as shown in Table 1.

A country's approach to international education is a key factor affecting the student flow in host countries. de Wit and Knight (1999) identified four

Table 1. Number of International Students in Top Six Host Countries.

Country	Number of International Students Student Enrollment (2010)
United States	684,807
United Kingdom	534,555
Australia	307,653
Germany	263,972
France	259,935
Canada	195,550

Source: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2010b, p. 135).

approaches for the internationalization of higher education that can increase the student flow into a host country: activity, competency, ethos, and process. Activities can be represented by student/faculty exchanges, technical assistance, or development of curriculum. Competency mainly refers to the development of new skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values in students, faculty, and staff. The ethos approach aims at creating a culture or climate on campus which promotes and supports international initiatives. Finally, a process strategy focuses on integrating an international dimension into teaching, research, and service through a combination of a wide range of activities, policies, and procedures.

The activity, competency, and ethos approaches are institutional-level responsibilities where the role of macro-level policy makers is limited. However, with the process approach, national and regional governments can play important roles and act as entrepreneurs to innovate new policies and corporate initiatives to enhance the international student flow in the host countries. The next section provides a brief overview of PSE and its role in international education.

PUBLIC SECTOR ENTREPRENEURSHIP

Global trends within the field of higher education have brought new competitors in an increasing and intense struggle to attract new students. Relatively little has been written on the marketing of education within international markets; however, existing literature tends to focus on factors relating to the institution itself, disregarding the influence of the country choice completely. Thus, from an international perspective, the decision process is not considered. In this context, educational institutions must

maintain their competitive advantage by developing a distinct image in order to attract international students (Cubillo, Sanchez, & Cervino, 2006).

The virtues of traditional ideas about government involvement in international education have been challenged as significant changes have emerged in economic, social, demographic, and cultural movements (Kim, 2010). The need to be more competitive in a turbulent environment demands innovative ways of structuring and managing government through administrative reform activities (Kim, 2010). Public choice theorists put forth the notion that agencies in the public sector tend to be monopolies and thus have no pressure to innovate (Borins, 2002).

However, the recent reforms termed “reinvention” depict a different image. The US Government Performance and Results Act and the global New Public Management movement have been introduced and implemented to improve government performance (Kim, 2010). With the ever-present goal of reducing government waste and ensuring government tasks are performed more effectively, a number of market-based approaches have been introduced. As public management is a multidimensional concept, introducing an entrepreneurial framework, such as privatization, public–private partnerships (PPP), and entrepreneurship, will provide important insights into government’s reform strategies in the public sector (Kim, 2010). Of particular interest is the notion of PSE. Understanding PSE is difficult without a high-level insight into the role of an entrepreneur.

An entrepreneur has a vision for a better way of doing things, thinking beyond the constraints of current rules and resources (Smith, Petersen, & Fund, 2006). Entrepreneurs have an innate mind-set that sees the possibilities rather than the problems created by change (Dees, 1998). Yet, a distinction emerges. Starting a business is neither necessary nor sufficient for entrepreneurship and not every new small business is entrepreneurial or represents entrepreneurship, as there is nothing especially innovative or change-oriented in this (Dees, 1998). The same logic would be true of new not-for-profit organizations. Therefore, the entrepreneurial motive exists in the pursuit of opportunity without regard to resources currently controlled (Dees, 1998). Entrepreneurs not only see and pursue opportunities that elude administrative managers; entrepreneurs do not allow their own initial resource allocations to limit their options (Dees, 1998). As a consequence, entrepreneurs have the power to fundamentally redefine our sense of what is possible.

The concepts and theories surrounding entrepreneurship are attractive to the social sector as they describe a mind-set and a kind of behavior that can emerge anywhere (Dees, 1998). Therefore, within the realm of entrepreneurship, the idea of “social entrepreneurship” has struck a responsive

chord, combining the passion of a social mission with an image of business-like discipline, innovation, and determination (Dees, 1998). A social entrepreneur's vision is not merely to create something new in the pursuit of fame or fortune, but rather to do so in the quest to make the world a better place (Smith et al., 2006). A leading thinker on social entrepreneurs, J. Gregory Dees has noted that social entrepreneurs adopt a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value), creating a heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created (Smith et al., 2006). These entrepreneurs, through a for-profit or not-for-profit structure, will create a social purpose, generating a positive impact for society (Smith et al., 2006). This positive impact follows the notion that education as a social public good is necessary for creating an informed citizenry. Education creates a social efficiency, designed to create workers to fuel a healthy economy. Education is today largely paid for and almost entirely administered by governments, related agencies, or nonprofit institutions, and in order to remain competitive governments should move toward a more competitive model.

The competitive model of an entrepreneurial government was introduced as a means to implement market-oriented practices in government for improved service (Kim, 2010). It cannot be assumed that market discipline will automatically resolve social ventures that are not effectively and efficiently utilizing resources (Dees, 1998). Therefore, a social entrepreneur will play the role of change agents in the social sector, by adopting a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value); recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission; engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning; acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand; and exhibiting a heightened sense of accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created (Dees, 1998). The practices adopted under this approach in collaboration with market-oriented practices could satisfy citizens' needs for more efficient, more responsive, and lower cost government (Kim, 2010). Regardless of the enthusiasm and belief in the applicability of entrepreneurial practices to the public sector, discussions remain regarding the suitability to public organizations in terms of core public sector values, accountability, and structural and legal restrictions (Kim, 2010). The primary intention of public entrepreneurship is not to make government more businesslike; but rather to increase the opportunity to innovate ways to offer more public choices and benefits, providing high-quality services to citizens (Kim, 2010), a notion that should be considered by universities.

A clear distinction must be made. While privatization reduces overall public sector involvement and responsibility as a significant service provider, public entrepreneurship offers important roles to the public sector to engage in public policy and management (Kim, 2010). Thus, adopting entrepreneurial practices in the public sector, such as searching for innovative opportunities and providing the ability to be proactive, will improve capacities for contributing to core public sector values and could be the best way to resolve recurrent perceptions of a “less efficient sector” (Kim, 2010). Implementing entrepreneurial approaches would not contradict the long-established views of the public sector’s management role in providing services. Being responsible to citizens, and supporting public values through using applicable market practices for efficiency and effectiveness can only be seen as a benefit to the sector. In order to manage the new suggested approach to the public sector (government and institutions of higher education), an attempt to establish an appropriate balance between entrepreneurial management and organizational structures is needed. This is partly because the public sector lacks a built-in system for stimulating entrepreneurial arrangements and ultimately managing those agreements (Kim, 2010).

Public entrepreneurship can also be understood systemically from four levels of study according to Klein, Mahoney, McGahan, and Pitelis (2010). Entrepreneurship is usually regarded as an innovation, and the establishment of new organizations. Public entrepreneurship involves “rules of the game” which establishes a framework for the pursuit of private and public interests. Entrepreneurship in the public sector continues the creation of new public organizations including government bureaus, nonprofit, and social organizations. Further, PSE represents creative management of public resources including organization and reorganization of agencies, and new forms of public–private interaction. The final aspect of PSE is the external effects of private actions on the public domain where private individuals and firms pursue social and nonprofit objectives (Klein et al., 2010).

There is a “dark side” to the promotion of reinvention through innovation and entrepreneurship in government (Tosterud, 1999). The initiative is seen by many as a reform fad that would perhaps seek to reduce the size of government rather than promoting government innovation. Innovation brings with it a certain degree of risk and a high chance of failure (Tosterud, 1999). The cost and magnitude of failure at the government level could present disastrous results for the public at large; this presents a dilemma to reformers. While innovation may be necessary to improve

the performance of the public sector, the cost of innovation failure is oftentimes perceived to be too high (Tosterud, 1999). The safe choice, and path pursued most often, is to do nothing. Reform – innovation and entrepreneurship – in the public sector must not only become accepted and necessary, but commonplace in practice.

In order to achieve entrepreneurship in the public sector, there are a number of important lessons to be learned. One of the most prevalent avenues of innovation is the entrepreneurial employee working in an entrepreneurial organization. However, as previously mentioned, creating an entrepreneurial organization is a most challenging task, even for the private sector (Tosterud, 1999). Public institutions, like private companies, in desire to create an innovative culture, may pursue a variety of entrepreneurial management strategies. One method to stimulate entrepreneurship is to find and hire employees who demonstrate entrepreneurial behavior. It is understood that not all workers have the interest or inclination to be entrepreneurial and innovative. The public sector must create opportunities which will reveal employees demonstrating entrepreneurial desires and talents (Tosterud, 1999). Once identified, these employees would be placed on an entrepreneurial track. High-growth companies in the private sector have developed entrepreneurial “training track” systems which contribute to the culture of the organization and assist with developing a long-term competitive strategy (Tosterud, 1999).

A public entrepreneurial track would need to have learning opportunities for employees in the art of government innovation. These opportunities could be provided as in-house education courses and can be supplemented with appropriate external continuing education programs and activities (Tosterud, 1999). Employees would be given the authority, autonomy, time, resources, and management support in order to identify, propose, and implement potential approaches to improving agency performance (Tosterud, 1999). As with any organization, it is of the utmost importance that the entrepreneurial public employee “buy into” the mission and vision of the agency and clearly see their role in contributing to the accomplishment of that mission and vision (Tosterud, 1999). This type of employee must achieve and move on to the next challenge and commitment is fostered through contributing to the solution. An emerging concept, and important for PSE, is the understanding of obsolescence mentality. If a government is accomplishing goals, public agencies, policies, programs, and employee skills should be evolving as well. The sector should not become stagnant. The suggestion is that if a public agency not efficiently serving its mandated mission (or whose mission is accomplished or no

longer important to society) should expect to become obsolete (Tosterud, 1999).

A review of the literature reveals that the higher education sector is facing a similar environment as the public sector (Malik & Mahmood, 2011). Here, it can be said that the higher education sector fits an entrepreneurial frame. The internal and external environments of the higher education sector are seeing high demands. Higher education institutions are under huge pressure to adapt to the new, postrecession environment to survive. Therefore, the organizations in the private sector as well as better entrepreneurial organizations in the public sector can become better models for higher education institutions to replicate. There is a warning that higher education institutions must make rapid changes to respond to the demands of students, government, foundations, and employers before they lose their students and grants as well (Malik & Mahmood, 2011).

Adopting a public sector corporate entrepreneurship model to higher education can assist colleges and universities in building the capacity to cope with the dynamic and hostile environment as well as to fulfill the competing demands to achieve their missions successfully (Malik & Mahmood, 2011). While colleges and universities differ significantly from business organizations in the areas of planning, governance, decision making style, and marketing to customers (Malik & Mahmood, 2011), there is an opportunity to innovate. In a turbulent environment and rapidly changing society, government-sector higher education institutions must leverage current competencies and resources to adopt whatever new opportunities and challenges are identified (Malik & Mahmood, 2011). Therefore, the potential roles of entrepreneurship are expected to be expanded in the public sector. Public entrepreneurial orientations streamline higher education institutes' activities and behaviors to be more practical and efficient (Malik & Mahmood, 2011).

Public entrepreneurship values may also be applicable to the immigration system. With so many regions to compete with, Canada must become more competitive. For many years, Australia, a traditional competitor of Canada, had a more efficient immigration system. This, alongside many other factors, gave them a competitive edge. The Government of Canada has already begun a massive overhaul of its immigration system in hopes of reducing the red tape, fraud, and abuse, which have rendered it partially inefficient. Although public entrepreneurship values may not be applied at the federal policy level, they can be transferred to micro-level actors such as nongovernment organizations that specialize in assisting immigrants prior to and upon arrival.

ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION FOR HOST COUNTRIES

As previously mentioned, there is a need for innovation in the development of public policies and programs directed toward the management of international education. The following section focuses on the benefits brought by international students to host countries. The main rationales for supporting the development of international education are multidimensional. In general, different stakeholders use social, economic, political, educational, and cultural arguments independently, in combination, or in contradiction to one another in their advocacy for international education (Knight & De Wit, 1995).

Contributions to economic growth are usually a high priority. On the one hand, turning education into an export commodity may lead to its conversion into a packaged product that is sold and traded on the market (Galway, 2000). Thus, education is no longer seen as a public good, but as a commodity with a price tag. However, economic benefits play a crucial role in creating strong advocacy for the development of international education in Canada, especially from a public sector perspective.

Recently, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada commissioned a number of studies that provided estimates of dollar values added to the national economy by international students. According to the latest report prepared by Roslyn Kunin and Associates (RKA), in 2010, the total fiscal contribution of students at all levels (including pre-university, college, short-term language students, undergraduate, and graduate) was approximately \$7.71 billion¹ (RKA, 2012a). While the figure is substantial, estimates have been described as conservative (RKA, 2012a). Most of the contributions were made by over 218,000 long-term students and nearly 40% of the total revenue came from China and South Korea (RKA, 2012a). A large portion of international students' expenditures are not taxable, approximately \$445 million was generated in government revenue in the same year. The RKA report states that the enrollment of long-term students increased 22% from 2008 to 2010, while total spending grew by 26%. Significant growth was noted in the number of international students pursuing tertiary education. In this case, the figure doubled from 2001 to 2008 with an average increase of 8.3% annually (Statistics Canada, 2012a).

Expenditures made by international students are divided into a number of categories, but tuition and other fees account for the largest portion of a

student's expenses. In Canada, at the national level, these fees followed a rising trend observed over the last few years for both domestic and international students. The average undergraduate university tuition rose 5.5% in 2012/2013 to \$18,641, while graduate students saw an increase of 2.3% to \$13,163 (Statistics Canada, 2012a).² Similar increases were noted in compulsory additional fees. Interestingly, provinces and territories applied different fiscal policies for tuition fees paid by international students resulting in significant increases (8.8% in Ontario) to no increase (Newfoundland and Labrador) for undergraduate tuition. Similar discrepancies were also observed for graduate studies with the highest increases in Saskatchewan at 11.2% and the lowest in British Columbia at 0.9%.

Living expenses constitute another major contributor to international students' spending. Such expenses were estimated to range from approximately \$7,000 per year for K-12 students to over \$12,000 for postsecondary students in 2010 (RKA, 2012a). These costs included meals, accommodation, transportation, and discretionary spending. Additional revenue is generated by increased tourism activities due to friends and family visiting international students who remain in the country. The students themselves spend significantly on tourism-related activities, but their families and friends also bring substantial contributions through random visits or visits for attending special occasions such as graduations. While data about the actual number of families who visit international students while studying in Canada is inconsistent, Roslyn Kunin and Associates used findings of research work conducted by Tourism Research Australia, information on international travel in Canada, and student enrollment figures to estimate the total expenditures related to tourism-related activities to \$336 million in 2010.

Beyond bringing direct revenue injections, services for international students have a positive impact on the job market. In periods of slower economic growth, jobs created through international education constitute a significant contribution to local economies. In this respect, it was estimated that the stay of international students in Canada in 2010 created over 81,000 jobs (RKA, 2012a) in various areas such as academia, language training, administrative, and hospitality services.

Benefits similar in nature have been noted in other jurisdictions. In the United Kingdom, the total impact of direct spending by international students was quantified at over £5.5 billion,³ with international students accounting for 11% of the market share in 2005 (Vickers & Bekhradnia, 2007). The sum corresponds to around \$8.8 billion in 2005 dollars.⁴ The figures were added for both European Union (EU) and non-EU students

enrolled in university studies. Interestingly, this expenditure was produced by 218,395 students (full-time, part-time, undergraduate, graduate), a figure almost identical to the number of long-term students in Canada, in 2010. Most contributions were made by non-EU students who did not benefit from the subsidies offered to those coming from EU countries.

Significant benefits have been recorded in Australia as well. International education is well-established there and various programs and policies have been implemented to maximize the students' experiences and the benefits to the Australian economy. According to a recent report prepared for the organization Universities Australia, 174,957 international students were pursuing degrees in Australia on student visas accounting for 19.4% of the entire university student population in the country ([Strategy Policy and Research in Education Limited, 2009](#)). According to the report, education exports in Australia were the third largest and higher education exports representing approximately 60% of the value of education services exports in 2007. Statistical data presents the total value of Australian education exports amounted to \$13.7 billion⁵ in 2008 and \$16.6 billion in 2009, demonstrating an upward trend. In terms of job creation, a study commissioned by the Australian Council for Private Education and Training in 2009 reported that international student expenditure generated more than 122,000 full-time positions for the Australian economy in the 2007–2008 fiscal year, with 33,482 of these jobs being in the education sector ([Access Economics Pty Limited, 2009](#)). The Australian international education program increased employment in the country by about 1.2% ([Strategy Policy and Research in Education Limited, 2009](#)).

Considerable expenditures were also noted in the US which has the largest market share of international students. According to the Open Doors Report 2008, international students contributed \$15.5 billion to the U.S. economy in 2007–2008.⁶ Expenses included living costs for students and accompanying dependents, as well tuition, books, fees, and other education-related expenses. However, campus-based funding reduced the total expenditure amount by \$6.5 billion.

As discussed above, it is evident that quantifiable economic benefits brought by international education to the host country are significant. However, international education is much more than just a business. The Group of Eight is a coalition of leading Australian universities⁷ active in research in professional education. Part of the organization's mandate is to strengthen Australia's capacity to engage in and benefit from global developments as well as to respond to global changes through innovative international education programs. In addition to their mandate, The Group of

Eight provides information on additional benefits generated by international education. These documented benefits have been noted by researchers in Canada and continue to reinforce the notion that improving the international education programs for Canadian institutions is necessary.

International education helps form relationships which emphasize the host country's engagement with the world, sustain trade and investment, and build a solid foundation for future research collaboration (Group of Eight, 2012). It is also an effective way for the host country to develop a pool of qualified candidates for permanent residency upon graduation. An open door policy acts as a driver for promoting the host country's cultural and intellectual assets worldwide while improving its reputation as a center for learning, research, and innovation. In addition, trade in the field of education strengthens the fiscal capacity of academic institutions which results in more opportunities to participate in education, research, and employment (Group of Eight, 2012). Moreover, providing an international dimension to research and teaching stimulates critical thinking and inquiry about the complexity of issues and interests which bear on the relations among nations, regions, and interest groups (Knight & De Wit, 1995). International students provide social and cultural perspectives which enhance learning experiences for all students. Through interactions with international students, domestic students broaden their cultural and linguistic horizon, and develop critical knowledge in today's globalized world. Thus, the internationalization of education becomes a vehicle for the preparation of students to compete in a global marketplace (Cudmore, 2005).

The cultural function of international education is stressed in many studies. This concept, analyzed by the European Commission, an organization supporting international higher education in the EU, demonstrates that education can be viewed from a nationalist perspective – emphasizing the importance of exporting national, cultural, and moral values – to a humanistic and holistic approach (Knight & De Wit, 1995). The idea of cultural, economic, and political interdependence is considered the primary reason for the desire to internationalize universities in Canada (Knight & De Wit, 1995). Further, according to Altbach and Knight (2007), the main motivation for traditional nonprofit universities supporting internationalization is to enhance knowledge and research capacity as well as to increase cultural understanding in the host country.

There is also an important relationship between international education and immigration. International students who opt to immigrate are attractive candidates for employers because of their knowledge of the language and culture of the host country (Group of Eight, 2012). They also have the

skills and networks to do business in their home countries, which may contribute to significant business growth through multinational partnerships. These are important reasons to update the Canadian immigration policy through innovative policies aimed at maximizing the benefits brought by skilled immigrants trained in the host country. Conducting business becomes easier as personal and institutional ties are formed between international graduates and institutional or private counterparts in the host country (Group of Eight, 2012). Maintaining strong collaborative relationships with home countries is essential for sustainable trade and economic development. The necessity to revise immigration policies to streamline the application process for permanent residency in Canada is evident, as retaining qualified international students may substantially contribute to resolving current economic issues which affect Canada's global competitiveness.

Another function of international education relates to institution building. The value brought by international graduate students in research programs has been long noted in North America. In some European jurisdictions where resource constraints significantly impact the viability of specific research departments, the recruitment of international students is a must for financial stability and for the continuation of notable research (Knight & De Wit, 1995). In addition, international ranking has become more important than competition within national borders for research institutions and professional schools (Knight & De Wit, 1995). The fact that in 2009 20.5% of the total enrollment in higher research programs in Canada was represented by international students (Statistics Canada, 2012b) provides factual evidence for the essential role played by international education in maintaining the sustainability of such programs.

Finally, the effect on source countries is a matter of increasing importance. According to the Group of Eight (2012), international education contributes to developing education capacities in the source countries. This provides assistance to developing countries to reinforce their governance, to build stable and effective civic institutions, and to reduce poverty by achieving sustainable development. However, it is crucial that the development of international education programs acknowledge the necessity of mutual benefits for partnering institutions/countries (Knight & De Wit, 1995) to avoid "brain-drain," which will have long-term effects on the sustainability of such programs.

With so many benefits associated with hosting international students, it is no surprise that countries such as Australia have been actively pursuing policies to support internationalization of education institutions. The Australian model is much different than the Canadian one as it contains

a medley of public sector programs, government support, and a market approach. This will be discussed further below.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: AUSTRALIAN AND CANADIAN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Higher Education Governance and Operation

PSE is prevalent amongst Australia's international education programs. Australia's international education strategy incorporates a market-based approach involving both public and private efforts. Such an approach did not come without debate. If students could get an education in a low-cost country, why would they choose Australia? Adams gives an answer to this question (Adams, 2007, p. 412):

The answer lies in the infrastructure and services to sustain and build an export-based service industry. International students are looking for a range of services that include in-country representation and marketing, assistance with visas, transparent visa processes, pre-departure orientations, pastoral care services, housing support, and quality facilities and education.

Therefore, if weather, culture, costs of education abroad, and educational reputation are left aside, many factors in the framework of Australia's international education industry substantially support the development of an export education industry in Australia. In Australia, both the public and private sectors have a significant impact on international education. The government agency that deals directly with international education is Australian Education International (AEI), a division of the Department of Education, Employment, and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) (The Illuminate Consulting Group, 2009). Another government agency, Austrade, advances Australia's international trade, investment, and education interests by providing information, advice, and services, with support funding coming from the Australian Federal Government (Austrade). In 2009, the federal government provided \$12.92⁸ billion to total tertiary education, while only \$1.62⁹ billion came from the regional government (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2010a).

Other than funding from the federal government, the industry also uses a market approach to gather funding from international students. It is worth noting that since 1986, the federal government changed the manner in which they recruit foreign students from a small-scale, low-key,

taxpayer-subsidized activity to a professionalized export industry (Adams, 2007). The government also restricted universities from subsidizing international students with public funds. This intervention gave universities the discretion to set their own tuition fee levels based on a market approach. International offices were created in an attempt to recruit international students and support them throughout their studies. In addition, these public education institutions have also established private agent networks which are responsible for over half of the international students in Australia (Adams, 2007).

The most prominent student placement organization is the International Development Program (IDP). IDP was initially founded as a nonprofit organization; however, this is no longer the case. As the world's largest international student placement provider, IDP has successfully established a strong market for international education in Australia. In 1995, international student fees were still just equal to 11% of base funding revenue (Commonwealth Grant Scheme plus student contributions) and 15% of Commonwealth contributions (Group of Eight, 2011b). This proportion increased sharply over the years and in 2009, international student fees reached half the total base funding and 80% of Commonwealth contributions. There was also a sharp increase in student enrollment and labor market supply as a result of international students graduating. IDP has also played the role of data collector for universities by publishing a university benchmark of commencements and enrollments at the end of each semester (Adams, 2007). These are all clear spillovers of the private actions to the public domain.

In Canada, education is under the jurisdiction of the provincial and territorial governments. The federal government, specifically the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) in collaboration with the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), develop policies at a national level to handle student visas, work permits, and post-graduation immigration. Canada is the only industrialized country that does not have a federal ministry or department of education (Shanahan & Jones, 2007). This is not as odd as it seems given the Canadian constitutional context. The constitution gives provincial governments the direct responsibility for funding, regulating, and coordinating education. Based on data available from Statistics Canada in 2004–2005, provincial governments-funded colleges for over 4 million¹⁰ and universities for over \$10 million,¹¹ while the federal government provided slightly over 500 million¹² and 3.4 million¹³ respectively for colleges and universities (Statistics Canada, 2008a, 2008b).

The highly decentralized approach of the federal government on education likely contributes to the lack of coordination on international education. Glen Jones, the Ontario Research Chair in postsecondary education policy and measurement at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, argues that the international education issue in Canada is more complicated because education policy and foreign affairs are handled by two different levels of government (Jones, 2012). Decisions on international education policies and strategies are made within the political context of the province. For example, in the 1990s following federal spending cuts, some provinces raised their international students' tuition fees dramatically (British Columbia, Ontario and Nova Scotia) while others froze or even reduced them (Manitoba, Quebec, Newfoundland, and Labrador) (Shanahan & Jones, 2007). This is not a positive sign for international students hoping to participate in cross-jurisdictional collaboration as it is more difficult to predict costs as there is no consistency among the provinces. Within a province, a coordinated and integrated system is still only a trend governments are moving toward. Traditionally, Canadian higher education was described as having a binary structure involving universities and community colleges. However, since the 1990s after several provinces took steps to increase the level of institutional diversity, the once clear distinction between university and college no longer exists (Shanahan & Jones, 2007). The current education governance system does not fit those hybrid institutions that offer both undergraduate degree and college diploma programs.

Canada does not have a public sector enterprise equivalent to IDP in Australia to export higher education services around the world. Even associations at the national level, such as the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC) and Association of Universities and Colleges Canada (AUCC), are only involved in delivering research and policy recommendations (The Illuminate Consulting Group, 2009), but rarely make any significant impacts.

TUITION FEES AND COST OF LIVING

In countries such as Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom tuition fees are higher for international students than for domestic students. A report prepared for the Australian Technology Network of Universities by John Phillimore and Paul Koshy shows that on average, each international student

in Australia contributed AUD 50,874 to the Australian economy in 2009. This figure includes tuition fees as well as goods and services (Phillimore & Koshy, 2010). In Canada, this amount was approximately CAD 35,000 in 2010 (Roslyn Kunin and Associates, 2012b). As one dollar of each of these currencies is equal to approximately one US dollar; after conversion, international students spend less money in Canada than they do in Australia.

Despite the relatively high cost of tuition in Australia, the country still possesses far more international students than Canada, as noted above. The data suggests that the cost of education for international students is not the most significant factor when determining where to study. However, this does not mean that tuition fees and other expenses are irrelevant.

REPUTATION OF POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION SYSTEMS

The reputation of a country's postsecondary education system was a major factor identified by international students when choosing where to study. Both Australia and Canada possess a reputation of high-quality postsecondary education. In Australia, the Group of Eight leading Australian universities have consistently ranked in the top 200 universities of the world. Additionally, international students comprise over 20% of the entire student population at these universities (Group of Eight, 2011a) and 23.2% of all postsecondary students in 2009 (Chakma et al., 2012). Furthermore, 35% of Monash University students in 2009 were from abroad (Group of Eight, 2011a). Attracting international students is a top priority of Australian postsecondary institutions.

Canada does not lag far behind Australia in terms of the reputation of its education. In the Times World University rankings, fairly similar numbers of Canadian and Australian postsecondary institutions are in the top 200 spots (TSL Education Ltd, 2012). However, there are 90 universities across Canada and only 39 across Australia, which means proportionally, Australia has more universities in the top 200 than does Canada. In addition, international students comprise approximately 7.5% of students in Canadian postsecondary institutions, which is much lower than in Australia (average over 20%) (Chakma et al., 2012).

The above-mentioned numbers must be further evaluated to better understand the market distortion occurring in both countries. In Australia, the federal government has reduced funding to universities. Consequently,

this has resulted in many postsecondary institutions taking an aggressive approach to recruit international students in order to gain higher revenue from tuition. While this approach generates tremendous financial benefits, it does not come without any negative effects. Marginson (2002) lists several adverse effects including the potential for some postsecondary institutions and academic disciplines to be far less attractive to international students as others, and possible increases in the student-to-staff ratio which creates a significant downward pressure on education quality.

Similar distortions are also present in Canada. In recent years, the country has reformed the immigration strategy to give permanent residence to individuals who have studied in Canada. The new policies may lead those interested in immigrating to Canada to apply for student visas to bypass the system rather than to advance their academic careers. Furthermore, some private institutions may target international students to increase profits while offering a low quality of education (Alboim, 2011). Canada can learn from Australia's proven success in marketing international education while guaranteeing the education quality. Since the Canadian government has not taken the lead on promoting its postsecondary education system abroad, this leaves a tremendous opportunity for a public sector enterprise to step up and fill the void.

POLICIES

One of the most significant PSE programs in Australian international education is a federal act known as the *Education Services for Overseas Students Act 1991* (the ESOS Act) which was revised in 2000. This act is designed to protect the interests of students coming to Australia on student visas. The legislation aims to protect and enhance Australia's reputation for quality education, to provide tuition protection, and to support the integrity of the student visa program (Government of Australia, 1999). ESOS is a quality-assurance framework that provides protection to international students. International students in the country on a student visa must study with an education provider and be registered in a course that can be found on the Commonwealth Register of Institutions and Courses for Overseas Students (CRICOS). CRICOS is an Australian federal government registry listing all education providers offering courses following the ESOS-quality framework. The act also instates significant rights to international students as consumers (Government of Australia, 1999).

ESOS ensures the right of international students to receive current and accurate information about courses, fees, and modes of study from the education service provider prior to enrollment. If the international student is under 18, the service provider must provide accommodations. The act also allows international students to sign a written agreement with service providers prior to paying their fees setting out the services to be provided, the fees payable, and information about refunds. The ESOS framework includes consumer protection which allows an international student to receive a refund or to be placed in another course if the provider is unable to offer their course of choice (Government of Australia, 1999).

An evaluation report on ESOS explained the act as “protecting Australia’s reputation for quality education” (Baird, 2010, p. 39). The report clearly stated that “ESOS governs the provision of education services to international students in Australia. This is one part of the regulatory framework ensuring that only quality education providers deliver courses to international students studying in Australia” (Baird, 2010, p. 57). The act gave full confidence to international students choosing Australia as their destination for postsecondary education. Canada is a shareholder in the global international education market, and does not have any federal or provincial legislative framework similar to ESOS. The Advisory Panel on Canada’s International Education Strategy also identify this shortfall. In their recent report, *International Education: A Key Driver of Canada’s Future Prosperity*, the panel recommended maintaining and enhancing the quality of the education system and ensuring its sustainability by developing an adequate policy mechanism. In that case, the Australian experience of implementing ESOS could be viewed as a best practice to follow when developing a Canadian international education quality standard framework (Chakma et al., 2012).

A vital lesson for Canada from the Australian experience is to develop a national registry of institutions and courses like CRICOS. Such a registry can help prevent institutes from providing unauthorized courses and help international students choose the best match for their future area of study. Currently, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada has a comprehensive searchable database of university degrees available for public use on their website. This could be a starting point for the federal government in establishing a database for authorized institutes and courses.

Another important PSE program in Australia is the International Student Strategy for Australia. This strategy has been developed by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) to provide a positive and rewarding experience to international students and to recognize the

importance of international education for Australia. The strategy has four action areas: student well-being, quality of education, consumer protection, and better information (COAG, 2010). The student well-being action area focuses mainly on the health and safety of the international students and community engagement components of international education. The strategy acknowledges that international students face particular challenges in these areas and may require special services to overcome those challenges. A few examples of actions taken as part of this strategy are a special police hotline for international students in Victoria, lower transit fees for the international students in New South Wales, and a festival for international students all over Australia (COAG, 2010).

To strengthen Australian higher education, the International Student Strategy outlined a plan to upgrade the Australian Quality Training Framework (AQTF) and revised ESOS as per the demand of the contemporary international education market. Consumer protection was highly emphasized in this strategy and a service provider closure taskforce was established to better handle complaints and disputes for international students. To provide better information to students a “*Study in Australia*” portal was recommended. The strategy also emphasized conducting regular surveys among the international student population to determine their level of satisfaction (COAG, 2010).

In Canada, the Council of the Federation from Provincial and Territorial Ministers of Education and of Immigration developed an international education marketing action plan for provinces and territories entitled *Bringing Education in Canada to the World, Bringing the World to Canada*. The document focuses on marketing Canadian education to the world and simplifying access to international students in Canada by reforming the student visa policy. This action plan also promotes the market research and study abroad programs for Canadian students. Although this plan is not as comprehensive as the COAG strategy for international students in Australia, it may be viewed as a starting point for Canadian provinces and territories to better develop their strategy.

Private–public entrepreneurship in Australian international education is another important promoter of Australian education in the global market. The International Development Program (IDP) was established in 1969 as the Australian Asian Universities’ Cooperation Scheme (AAUCS). It began by delivering development assistance to universities in Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, and other parts of South-East Asia. AAUCS changed its name to IDP of Australian Universities and Colleges. IDP Education is currently the largest student placement organization in the world and

promotes Australian education through marketing and direct services to international students. Education Australia, a consortium of 38 Australian universities, owns half of IDP, which is the largest private–public enterprise in the international education sector in the world.

Skilled Migration

An important component of our discussion is the potential economic benefits resulting from a smooth transition of international students into the Canadian labor market. Meaningful employment and attractive immigration policies would constitute powerful incentives for international students to choose Canada as their long-term home. The following paragraphs provide a brief background on immigration to Canada as well as a short comparative analysis of the Canadian and Australian approaches to skilled migration.

Within the next decade, Canada's baby boomer population will reach the retirement age and the country will experience a significant skilled labor shortfall (Chakma et al., 2012). The result will be too few workers to meet both social and economic needs (Canadian Chamber of Commerce, 2010). As fertility rates in Canada are not likely to significantly increase anytime soon, the country must look internationally rather than domestically to solve this brewing crisis. Citizenship and Immigration Canada projects that immigration will account for all net labor force growth within the next 10 years and all population growth within the next 20 years (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011). Historically, immigration is not new to Canada. However, the economic landscape is much different now than it was 150 years ago – or even 20 years ago.

In the early 20th century, Canada was predominantly an agricultural society; consequently, rural immigrants and farmers were encouraged to immigrate. Following the Second World War, the country moved from a predominantly agricultural society to an industrial one and focused on attracting laborers for factory work and the resource-extraction industries. More recently, Canada has evolved into a knowledge-based society and the immigrants currently being sought are those with human capital.

The most significant generator of human capital is higher education. It is now more important than ever for individuals to have completed some form of postsecondary education to be competitive in the global economy. At a macro-level, it is important for regions to be populated by highly skilled, highly educated individuals to transform information into economic

growth. Canada is no stranger to higher education as it was recently revealed that it ranks first among OECD countries in the proportion of adults with postsecondary education (Bélanger, 2012). However, with the large number of retiring working-age Canadians in the next decade, this number could drop drastically.

Immigration will be essential in replacing the aging boomers. Within the contemporary global context, Canada needs to be more competitive. For decades, Australia, one of Canada's main competitors, had a more efficient immigration system. In the future, nontraditional competitors in East and South Asia will attempt to reverse the brain drain of their citizens to the West by offering more incentives to stay. An effective way of transforming immigration to labor force growth is by recruiting younger immigrants and international students already studying in the country. Australia has already been using this method for years. Canada must find a way to not only replicate the Australian experience, but to learn from and enhance it as well.

THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY

The OECD defines human capital as “the knowledge, skills, competencies, and attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal, social, and economic well-being” (Keeley, 2007). Individuals possessing human capital can transform information into economic growth. The information age has revolutionized the global economy; physical location means much less than it did 50 years ago as the transfer of information from across the globe takes only a few seconds. Twenty-first century immigration, in the so-called “information age,” is much more competitive. Countries are now looking to attract human capital to ensure their economies continue to grow. Those regions best suited to attract human capital will be the most successful.

Canada, although already one of the most educated societies in the world, requires more human capital to remain competitive. The most efficient manner of acquiring it is by generating it within its own borders as there is less time spent on integration. When individuals study at a post secondary institution they learn knowledge, skills, and even values. Individuals who grew up in Canada will be able to contribute to the economy shortly after they complete their studies. However, newcomers to Canada will need to gain certification of their degrees and experience upon

arrival and therefore cannot contribute to the knowledge economy in the way that they envisioned.

The thousands of international students already within the country's borders present a major opportunity. Although they are not born and raised in the country they will have spent enough time and gained enough education and skill to make positive contributions in the knowledge economy if given the opportunity. There is no need to recertify their qualifications as they earned them from recognized institutions within the country. Additionally, no extra time is needed for socialization/integration as international students have already spent years in the country studying and are aware of how Canadian society operates.

SKILLED IMMIGRATION IN CANADA

Historically, Canada is a country of immigration and the multicultural and accepting nature of Canadian society is known worldwide. Over the past decade, the country has welcomed approximately 250,000 immigrants per year and continues to be a popular choice ([Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012](#)). However, the Canadian immigration system has been inefficient over the past decade and many immigrants face barriers to integration upon arrival.

Immigrants entering Canada through the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) have high hopes of beginning a successful new life as they believe their education, skills, and work experience will allow them to gain employment in their field. In fact, the points system in which they are admitted rewards them for it; however, most of the time the reality does not meet their initial hopes. Rather, immigrants become increasingly frustrated as they are under/unemployed for a number of years before/if they enter their field of work. This frustration occurs as many are not aware that this process consumes an extended amount of time ([Feist, 2003](#)). Furthermore, the newcomers' limited access to economic wealth generates costs for society as a whole ranging from \$397 ([Javdani, Jacks, & Pendakur, 2012](#)) to \$6,000 per recent immigrant per year ([Grubel & Grady, 2012](#)).¹⁴

One manner in which the Canadian government may resolve this issue is by looking to the thousands of international students already within its borders. These students spend years in the country learning the norms, values, skills, and education needed to be meaningful contributors to the Canadian economy and society. However, the unfortunate reality is that

rather than continuing their lives in Canada, most return to their countries of origin (Francis, 2012). There is a massive opportunity loss here as the full extent of their potential is not being realized. In recent years, the Canadian Government has caught onto this and has taken steps in the proper direction. The Canadian Experience Class (CEC) was created in 2008 to reward those with experience in Canada by making the transition from temporary to permanent resident much easier. The CEC can bring tremendous value to Canada as it is an effective way to match international students studying high-demand subjects with sectors experiencing skills shortage (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2011).

The point system used by Canada's Citizenship and Immigration Department is a tool that assists in determining the eligibility of immigrants will be changing as well. Overall, there will be increased weight put on youth, job skills, and strong English and French language skills. There will also be a new educational credential assessment which evaluates the applicant's foreign education credentials to determine their equivalency in Canada (Government of Canada, 2012). The provincial and territorial governments also have an increased presence in the immigration process. The Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) allows provinces and territories to select immigrants endorsed by employers in order to meet their local labor demands. Most provinces/territories hold an agreement with the federal government for such initiatives. These applicants are not added to the FSWP database, but instead have their applications fast tracked (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010). This program is effective in matching the needs of employers in various locations with the skills of immigrants and has an acceptance rate of more than 95% (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2012).

THE AUSTRALIAN COMPARISON

For years, the Australian government led a push to attract international students and then retain them upon graduation. Between 2006 and 2009, there was a 65% increase in international student enrollment (Chakma et al., 2012). As of November 2011, the education services industry was Australia's largest services export industry (Australian Education International, 2012). Australian postsecondary institutions charged higher international student tuition fees than their Canadian counterparts; however, upon graduation students became eligible for immigration if they met

certain criteria (Francis, 2012). This model seemed to be working for Australia, but this began to change as a result of a variety of factors.

In 2010, the Australian government made changes to their General Skilled Migration (GSM) program making the road to permanent residency more difficult for international students (Universities Australia, 2011). The former immigration system had a *Migration Occupation in Demand List (MODL)* which was a relatively broad list of occupations in demand in the country. International students applying for the GSM were rewarded extra points if their studies related to an occupation on this list.

Under the new system, the MODL has been replaced by a *Skilled Occupation List (SOL)*. The SOL is much more limited than the MODL, it focuses on highly skilled occupations, and it is updated annually to reflect the medium- to long-term needs of the country (Universities Australia, 2011). The new system affects the plans of potential international students, as if they are planning to apply for permanent residency after they graduate, they would need to apply for a program which is currently on the SOL. However, upon graduation this skill may no longer appear on the list. Moreover, the range of available educational programs leading to SOL qualification is now much more limited than under the old system (Universities Australia, 2011).

CONCLUSION

The main finding of this study is that there is an urgent need for action in Canada's approach to international education and skilled immigration. Primarily, the provincial and territorial administration of international education programs yields inconsistent results. This creates a discrepancy between objectives communicated at federal level and what is achieved at provincial and institutional levels. While replicating the Australian model may not result in complete success, it is a starting point for implementing market-oriented strategies to promote international education more efficiently. An entrepreneurial approach requires the establishment of a central agency to develop and implement aggressive marketing and branding programs supported by innovative legislation governing international education as a national priority.

One of the obstacles identified in regards to applying entrepreneurial approaches to managing international education programs is the emphasis placed on the postsecondary institution itself, disregarding the macro effect of country choice. Thus, from an international perspective, the decision

process is not properly considered. However, the education system and related markets are more than the singular institution, with many supportive components. Particular importance is placed on the prevailing policy, and existing governing structures, which in return stimulate high-quality education provision. Under the current pressure of recession and calls for innovation, the once advantageous traditional government involvement no longer fits the growing demand of international education and the day-by-day increasing complexity of this market. In such context, PSE injects new concept to cope with the situation.

PSE was introduced to run a market-oriented government and to render this sector more responsive and efficient. A simple way to understand the core competency of this theory is that it adopts entrepreneurial practices in the public sector. Entrepreneurial mind-set sees the possibilities to change and to innovate, and so it grasps as many available resources as possible to take actions. Adopting a public sector corporate entrepreneurship model to higher education can assist educational institutions in building the capacity to cope with the dynamic and hostile environment as well as to fulfill the competing demands to achieve their missions successfully (Malik & Mahmood, 2011).

Further, public entrepreneurship values may also be applicable to the immigration system. The most efficient manner of acquiring human capital in Canada is by generating it within its own borders as there is less time and resources spent on integration. International students present a major opportunity to fill the gaps in the Canadian economy. Through bypassing the lengthy and demanding process of accommodation, certification, and settlement, international graduates can be easily integrated in the work force and generate significant economic contributions. Nevertheless, a best practices approach based on strategies applicable to the Canadian context along with structural changes that will allow for a more unified oversight process will produce the expected results. The divide between central and institutional methods of implementation needs to be minimized through enhanced collaboration between federal and provincial governments.

NOTES

1. Figures are in Canadian dollars.
2. See <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/120912/dq120912a-eng.pdf>.
3. 2005 British pounds.
4. Currency exchange rates at <http://www.xe.com/currencytables/?from=GBP&date=2012-12-30>.

5. 2008 Australian dollars.
6. 2008 American dollars.
7. The eight member universities are: the University of Western Australia, Australian National University, the University of Sydney, the University of Melbourne, the University of Queensland, Monash University, the University of New South Wales, and the University of Adelaide.
8. 2009 Australian dollars.
9. 2009 Australian dollars.
10. Canadian dollars.
11. Canadian dollars.
12. Canadian dollars.
13. Canadian dollars.
14. Official figures for such calculations are not available due to the contentious nature of the issue, but it is evident that there are costs associated with the limited tax base generated by low-paying employment versus accessed services.

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